THE CRISIS: ANNE BAUER FROM PARIS, CEDRIC BELFRAGE FROM LONDON...PAGE 3

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SALUTE, RIGHT FACE, TO THE REAR MARCH

Three French generals, Lt. Gen. Raoul Salan (l. foreground), Brig. Gen. Jacques Massu (center) and Air Force Gen. Edmond Jouhaud salute at ceremonies in Algiers before challenging the Fourth Republic and starting on the road back to fascism. Some thought they had in mind Francisco Franco who went from Africa to Madrid, but he had friends in Rome and Berlin. The three generals looked for their friends in Paris. Their desert song had one refrain: "Vive De Gaulle."

FRENCH CRISIS ALARMS WEST

Dulles' diplomacy erupts in violence on four continents

By Kumar Goshal

STORMY WEATHER buffeted Washington's foreign policy last week; flashes of lightning revealed the fragile foundations on which this policy rested and the manner in which the U.S. has been squandering the enormous fund of good will it possessed in Europe, Africa, Asia and Latin America only a dozen years ago.

In the last hectic days France—the fulcrum of NATO—seemed to have two governments: one in Algeria, which Frenchmen insist is a part of metropolitan France, and one in Paris. Over France loomed the lengthening shadow of Gen. Charles De Gaulle, who never saw eye to eye with U.S. policy. Washington was also accused of throwing its weight around in Lebanon and Indonesia, provoking warnings from Moscow and Peking.

ALGERIA: On May 13, Algeria exploded as thousands of French settlers sacked the French Ministry headquarters and the offices of the U.S. Information Agency. Paratroop commander and interior security head Gen. Jacques Massu—whose forces were responsible for torturing Algerian prisoners of war and sympathetic Frenchmen—staged a military coup and proclaimed a Committee of Public Safety to rule Algeria.

The Algerian coup followed the remarkable demonstration of North African unity behind the Algerian National Liberation Front shown recently at Accra, Ghana and Tangier, Morocco. At the Tangier conference, the dominant Tunisian and Moroccan political parties recommended that the NLF set up an Algerian revolutionary government in exile.

Gen. Massu, supported by French Commander-in-Chief in Algeria Gen. Raoul Salan, repudiated the government of Premier Pierre Pflimlin, appealed to Gen. De Gaulle "to take the leadership" of the French government.

For a few days Gen. De Gaulle watched the straws in the wind, as the Pflimlin administration took emergency precautions against a possible Gaullist military putsch. After repeated appeals from Algeria and the resignation of French Chief of Staff Gen. Paul Ely, Gen. De Gaulle on May 19 held a press conference jammed with 1,000 correspondents. He said that political parties handicapped governmental stability and said he would be willing to head the government if granted unrestricted power. On the possibility of his riding to power through armed revolt, he remained non-committal.

The chronic instability of the French government since 1945 has been sharply aggravated by the senseless Algerian war which last week reached the point of insanity where a million French settlers in Algeria seemed to dictate the future of 50,000,000 Frenchmen. Since a basic reason for governmental instability has been the exclusion of the French Communist Party—the largest party in France—from any coalition, a Popular Front government, including the CP,

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APPELONS
DE GAULLE
...ET LA FRANCE
SERA LA FRANCE:
POUR RAPPELER DE GAULLE
ECRIVEZ A COTY

GAULLIST POSTERS IN PARIS

Under him, 'France will be France'

BEHIND THE NIXON FIASCO

Latin American anger stems from long U. S. exploitation

By Elmer Bendiner

NEWSPAPER EDITORIALS last week suggested that Congress strike a medal for Richard and Pat Nixon and that their ordeal be taken as the price of Empire. The spit, stale fruit and overwhelming hatred endured by the Nixons in South America were said to be tributes paid to true world leadership, not unlike the enmity aroused by Rome and Britain in their time. Some commentators, however, said that if any citations were handed out in Washington they ought to be for sheer bone-headedness above and beyond the call of duty.

Climaxing a long history of fumbling was the scene in Caracas, Venezuela, on May 13 when the Vice President and his party were holed up in the heavily-guarded U.S. Embassy. Then, to a continent already seething with resentment, President Eisenhower presented Empire's historic answer to restless natives. Thirty miles off Venezuela's coast there appeared a formidable U.S. task force; an aircraft carrier with two companies of marines aboard, six destroyers and a missiles cruiser. A thousand marines and paratroopers were flown to Puerto Rico and Cuba.

THE PRESS IS BITTER: Press reaction in Latin America, though apologetic for the rough treatment given the Nixons, was bitter at the military moves. **El Mundo** of Caracas asked: "Is Washington returning to the times when battleships and marines sealed the lips of national independence in order to collect Wall Street debts?" Most other Latin

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NEGRO LEADERS HOLD THEIR OWN SUMMIT MEET

Crisis conference in capital plans strategy

By Louis E. Burnham

PRESIDENT Eisenhower's plea for "patience and forbearance" in the Negro's struggle for equal rights was perhaps the most dramatic confirmation of the need for the "summit meeting" of Negro leaders which he addressed in Washington on May 12.

More than 350 of the nation's top Negro leaders had come together at the call of the Natl. Newspaper Publishers Assn. to determine why progress had been so slow in the fight for integration and what could be done to speed it up. They met four years after the Supreme Court's historic decision which outlawed "separate but equal" education in the South. Here is what they faced:

- In seven states—Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Louisiana and Mississippi—not a single Negro child had been admitted to a public school with white children. While 377,286 Negro students were in "integrated situations" in the rest of the Southern and border states, some 2,000,000 remained in Jim Crow schools.
- The Southern Negro vote had risen from 1,000,000 in 1954 to about 1,500,000, but no one would say that the prospect was good for reaching the NAACP goal of 3,000,000 by 1960.
- The Southern states had placed 100 laws on their statute books to reinforce segregation and cripple the Negro's struggle. The NAACP, outlawed in Alabama, hampered in Louisiana and Texas, and harassed all over Dixie, had lost 40,000 Southern members during 1957.
- The White Citizens Councils had loosed tons of literature on the South and the nation—much of it scurrilous—proclaiming white supremacy and the innate inferiority of the Negro. Where threats and intimidation proved unavailing, the racists resorted to mobs, blackjacks and bombs to blunt the edge of

(Continued on Page 4)

THE MAIL BAG

More friends needed

EL CAJON, CALIF.

The heading over the picture of Mrs. Rose Sobell and the Rev. Peter McCormack (Guardian, 5/5) reads in part: "6,400 friends."

Do you mean to say that from among 30,000 GUARDIAN readers only 6,400 signatures have appeared on Sobell's petition?

If GUARDIAN readers don't sign Sobell petitions then "Good bye my country 'tis of thee."

Robert Karger

A Latin-American speaks

NEW YORK, N.Y.

As a Latin-American exile I regret the incidents which occurred to vice-president Nixon. However, it will be a mistake to believe that the people who booed him are the "insignificant minority" of "communists and nationalists" who "do not represent the real people" of these countries. The fact is that many of those people are the same who cheered the late President Roosevelt and former Vice President Wallace when they visited our countries. But those pleasant days of the Good-Neighbor Policy are gone.

Nixon should not have gone to Latin America at the present moment when even governments subservient to U.S. policies are complaining about discriminatory measures against their countries' economies. He had nothing to offer but false promises. In three consecutive Inter-American conferences the economic subject was deliberately postponed, and instead only police resolutions were passed to suppress all kinds of popular protests.

We are not anti-U.S. We are of course, anti-imperialist; we want to be free people and cooperate with the people of the U.S. on equal terms, not as lackeys. We want plows, machinery, technicians, not arms and policemen. We want peace and not cold war which is destroying our economies for the sake of tyrants subservient to their patrons in Washington and Wall St.

Juan Menendez Ramos

●

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Most Americans know Nehru, Adenauer, Ben Gurion; but not one in a thousand knows the **Presidents** of India, West Germany, Israel. Not one in a thousand Latin-Americans knew, until recently, the name of the U.S. Vice President. But they knew that the U.S. spent for Franco, the most hated man in Europe, more money than for any Latin-American nation, and for Chiang, the most hated man in Asia, more than for all the South American nations together.

Ben H. Jones

Swamped

NEW YORK, N.Y.

If anyone has any doubts about the responsiveness of the GUARDIAN's readers, let them come to me. I offered to send the Shatil pamphlet, "Communal Farming in Israel," to anyone who wrote to me for it and I have been literally swamped with requests. They can still be had by writing to me c/o **Israel Horizons**, 112 Fourth Ave., New York 3, N.Y.

Richard Yaffe,
Managing Editor

Outraged

BRONX, N.Y.

With a monstrous atrocity existing in our land—the nerve gas plant at the Rocky Mountain Arsenal in Denver, Colo.—those who still shudder at the mention of Hitler's gas chambers wonder why our so-called "moral" leaders utter no outraged protests against this blight on our moral character.

Ordinary people who try to live up to the highest spirit in them are utterly appalled by the hypocrisy which preaches God, Conscience and Spirituality, and at the same time condones the existence upon its shores of premeditated murder weapons for the continued extermination of more untold millions of human beings.

Miriam Stern

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

New Smyrna Beach, Fla., May 13—(AP)—The Army quartermaster general said here that cabbage and broccoli may cut down illness and death from nuclear fallout.

Major General Andrew T. McNamara said in an interview yesterday that "we are now in the midst of some exciting animal experiments in which we have found that the feeding of cabbage and broccoli may be the means of doubling the capacity of man to withstand" rays caused by fallout from nuclear explosions.

—Philadelphia **Evening Bulletin**, May 13

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: F. G., Philadelphia.

Protest Southern violence

CHICAGO, ILL.

We of the Jewish Cultural Clubs of Chicago, being greatly disturbed by the repeated acts of violence by racists in the South, as evidenced by the bombings of Jewish synagogues, community centers and churches of Negroes, have communicated our protests to Gov. Leroy Collins of Florida and to Atty. Gen. William P. Rogers. These acts of violence which go unpunished, and their perpetrators undisclosed, broadcast to the people of the world that there is a great flaw in our honored position as the leading democracy of the world.

Leo Berman, Chairman

Get it?

BRENTWOOD, CALIF.

In **Time** magazine April 21, an article appeared describing the activities of some distinguished Americans against atomic tests, including that distinguished and very courageous scientist, Dr. Linus Pauling. In the article itself and in an accompanying footnote, Dr. Pauling was subjected to a red smear, or what **Time** evidently hopes will constitute such a smear.

I am reminded of a bit of verse I once read, I believe by some Western poet, who was writing about a man named Lorimer, sometime editor of the **Saturday Evening Post**, as follows:

"Whene'er Youth builds an altar
to the beautiful and true,
Be sure the Great Dog, Lorimer,
will lift a leg thereto."

And the editor of **Time**—well, you get the connection.

Hal Driggs

You Auto Buy Now

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Somewhat over a year ago we were bombarded with a slogan which proclaimed that "Suddenly it's 1960."

The months have passed and the new models are all out and, guess what, suddenly it's only 1958; in most cases only 1957.

Haakon H. Hynek

Anti-war party needed

BRAINERD, MINN.

We are in urgent need of a sincere progressive political party which will endeavor to grant security, equality and justice to all. We want the abolition of all future wars, and also the end to the malicious discrimination which is all too apparent here now. Only a government operating on a socialist principle can be efficient, as we must have equal rights to all and special privilege to none.

Robert Scherlie

Billboard distractions

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

The fight about the billboards illustrates an increasingly common practice of our government—to make a big deal about minor issues. If Congress would spend more time on really important matters and not on such things as how many billboards to put up, maybe we'll all live to enjoy the natural beauty which the curb on billboards is supposed to preserve.

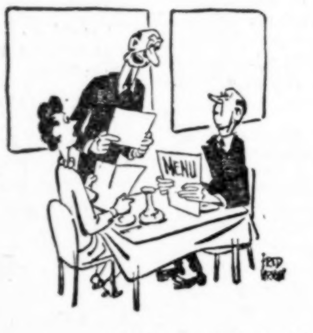
Larry Rubin

Butter Lobby, take note

WASHINGTON, KANS.

How deplorable that our leadership and U.S. citizenry, who could change that leadership, refuse to see that more could be done to bolster the declining world prestige of the U.S. and win us more friends by adopting a policy towards the so-called underdeveloped countries of "more butter and fewer guns."

Ernest B. Benne



Drawing by Fred Wright

"Better hurry up and order before our prices go up again."

Wholeheartedly

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

The Left has been engaged in unity discussions for about two years. So far we have had discussions only—no action. I agree wholeheartedly with the sentiment expressed in the SWP proposal presented in their ad in the GUARDIAN and believe furthermore that, given a bold program and a vigorous campaign, a surprisingly large socialist vote would be rolled up in the '58 campaign.

William M. Curran

In Memory

PEEKSKILL, N.Y.

My mother, Rose Resnick, a subscriber to the GUARDIAN since its birth, passed away Jan. 12, 1957. I am enclosing $5 to you in her memory—her fighting spirit and vision was a-kin to yours. Keep it up.

Ephraim Resnick

Q. & A. on China

NEW YORK, N.Y.

A friend of mine toured extensively in People's China. He was shown a museum where historical jewelry and precious metals are displayed and was impressed not so much at the glitter and magnificence of the treasures as at the apparent lack of devices safeguarding them from theft. "Wouldn't they be stolen?" he asked his interpreter. The Chinese smiled and answered, "All these belong to us—the people. Would anybody steal his own treasures?" My friend tells me that he was so ashamed of his own question that he couldn't look at his interpreter for a while.

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REPORT TO READERS

Beat the doldrums

SUMMER DOLDRUMS seem to have descended early on GUARDIAN subscribers this year. We urge to your attention the letter in this week's issue (P. 12) from former Rep. Hugh DeLacy in behalf of the Cleveland Taft-Hartley Case; and another (P. 2) viewing with concern the relatively small number of signatures gathered thus far to petitions seeking Presidential intervention for Morton Sobell.

In both cases our readership has been slow to act, although there can be no doubt of the deep-rooted convictions of virtually all GUARDIAN readers on each.

HUGH DeLACY writes to us as chairman of an Ad Hoc Committee composed of leaders of the 1948-56 Progressive Party—its national chairman, former Minnesota Governor Elmer Benson; national secretary, C.B. (Beany) Baldwin; Eslanda Goode Robeson, Florence Luscomb, Vincent Hallinan, the party's 1952 presidential candidate, and Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, the keynote speaker in 1952. All were colleagues in the PP (as were most GUARDIAN readers) of Marie Reed Haug, PP national committeewoman from Ohio. Mrs. Haug is now the key defendant in the Cleveland Taft-Hartley Case, in which her Progressive Party activity and unflagging concern with Negro rights have been used to accuse her of continuing Communist activity after filing a Taft-Hartley non-Communist affidavit.

This should be a matter of deep concern to every participant in Progressive Party activity, from the point of view of principle as well as personally. In addition, there are other aspects of the Cleveland case which should make it a matter of urgency to every civil libertarian in the country.

Most GUARDIAN readers received a letter last month from the Ad Hoc Committee headed by former Congressman DeLacy, and many responded. We urge you to respond. If you can't locate the letter, which asked for funds to prepare the appeal, the address of the Ad Hoc Committee is P.O. Box 2461, East Cleveland Station, Cleveland 12, Ohio. Checks may be drawn payable to the Ad Hoc Committee for Cleveland Taft-Hartley Conspiracy Case Appeal or to Hugh DeLacy, chairman.

THE SOBELL CASE has not been brought to all GUARDIAN subscribers' attention by mail, although news of the petition drive has appeared frequently since the GUARDIAN first told the electrifying story of Sobell's long-demanded transfer from Alcatraz Prison last February. The petition requests simply that the President pardon Sobell or direct his attorney-general to accede to Sobell's request for a new trial.

This request to the President was initiated three years ago by prominent Americans including noted news commentator Elmer Davis, who died May 18 in Washington at 68 following a stroke suffered on March 17. Hundreds of clergymen, writers, professors and community leaders have concurred in the original request. The new petition issued in March seeks to add rank-and-file public sentiment to the 1955 Elmer Davis letter to President Eisenhower.

WITHOUT WAITING for a mailing to reach you, why not offer your name now to the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell, 940 Broadway, New York 10, N.Y.

As added argument, here are excerpts from the lead editorial in the **Michigan Daily** of the University of Michigan for April 29, headlined "Sobell Deserves Hearing":

"The case against Morton Sobell, with all its complications, can be summed up in one word: tenuous . . . The guilt of the Rosenbergs is still questioned by many. And if the Rosenbergs were innocent, Sobell must also be guiltless.

"Even if the Rosenbergs were guilty, the case against Morton Sobell is not exceedingly strong. It may well be that he was merely an unfortunate victim of the net the prosecution spun around the Rosenbergs . . .

"The Supreme Court has refused the many attempted appeals by Sobell. It is true that the case will not probably set any new legal precedent of importance. Nevertheless several important procedural and factual matters in the case deserve the attention of this country's highest tribunal. Questions have been raised which demand an answer.

"A case which has been compared to that of Sacco and Vanzetti must not be allowed to remain restless on the conscience of the nation."

The entire **Michigan Daily** editorial, along with comments on the case in other university newspapers, is available by reprint from the Sobell Committee. The list of concerned Americans is slowly growing. We urge you to make it grow faster, by adding your name today.

—THE GUARDIAN

FOURTH REPUBLIC FIGHTS FOR LIFE

Resistance grows as De Gaulle seeks power

By Anne Bauer
Guardian staff correspondent

PARIS

AS THE GENERALS' PLOT was touched off in Algiers and the crowds in the streets stormed one of the administration buildings, not just the statue of the Republic was overturned. The Republic itself was rocked to its foundations.

"I should weep over Algeria more than I should weep over the Republic," Popular Republican deputy Georges Bidault, lately one of the House right-wing leaders, said last week. He perfectly expressed the feeling of the Algerian French settlers.

The generals' putsch has brought home one first lesson. It has put some crude light on the fact that the Algerian ultras and their Paris friends would rather lose the Republic than Algeria. When they shout "Algérie Francaise", what they are thinking of is neither the Republic nor even their country, but their bank accounts and their privileges.

BEHIND THE PLOT: The Algiers plot did not come out of a blue sky. The Republic, these past years, has been slowly but consistently preparing the menace of its own downfall. From Guy Mollet giving in to a few thousand Algerian fascists in February, 1956, to Gaillard covering up the Sakiet bombing in February, 1958, each French government had capitulated a little more before the Algerian ultras. In the end, as one editorialist had it recently, Paris was no longer governing Algiers: Algiers was governing Paris.

The conditions of the generals' plot are not known in all their details. That it had helpers in high places all the way to Paris has been charged by Prime Minister Pflimlin himself. The future will tell the who and how much of that outside help. A few names are already linked directly or indirectly to the plot.

Léon Delbecque, close collaborator of ex-Defense Minister Chaban-Delmas, was in Algeria when the plot broke. His name today appears on the list of members of the Algiers Committee of Public Safety.

LACOSTE'S ROLE: Resident Minister Robert Lacoste's ties with the putsch are more difficult to make out. For the past weeks. Lacoste has been holding on to his post pending appointment of a successor; he was supposed to be replaced by the new government and did not like it. According to a recent story denied by him, he had suggested to a Poujadist delegation that if certain Algiers street riots were put on skilfully enough, he might be able to remain in his post. He had also warned every one in Algiers that Paris was preparing a diplomatic Dienbienphu (France's last stand in Indo-China) and that if nothing happened soon, Algeria would be "lost" by October.

The day of the insurrection, four right-wing deputies—Bidault, Jacques Soustelle (Gaullist), Morice (ex-Nazi collaborator) and Duchet (Independent)—came out openly in favor of the plotting generals.

But the game to-day is no longer in the hands of a few parliamentary right-wing leaders.

From the moment De Gaulle appeared on the scene, it became clear that the Algiers generals' threat against the Republic had been no small-time military plot but an undertaking of major political proportions.

De Gaulle's reappearance in the political picture came as a surprise to many who thought he had stayed in seclusion too long and had missed his opportunities.

GEN. CHARLES DE GAULLE
"I hold myself ready to take over the powers of the Republic"

THE ADMIRERS: In France, De Gaulle's name was capable of rallying a certain political force. In Paris, Mendés France had long shown him respect and admiration. Only a week ago an appeal in favor of De Gaulle was signed, among others, by progressive Catholic writer Francois Mauriac. But on Thursday, second day of the Algiers insurrection, Mauriac said in his **Express** editorial:

"We still place our hopes in De Gaulle, but not in a De Gaulle who would respond to a Massu's appeal. May he say no word and make no gesture that would link him to generals plotting against the state."

In his statement, that he was ready to take over, De Gaulle did not at first take sides with the Algiers generals but neither did he criticize them. That was enough to disappoint liberals like Mauriac and many others. It brought in mingled press commentaries even from some admirers the next day. It galvanised the general situation in France, inside parliament and out.

THE OPPOSITION: All over the country, trade unions, students and teachers' groups had begun organizing meetings and making contacts at the start of the generals' plot. Anti-fascist committees had sprung up. The Paris committee counted Sartre and Mauriac among its members.

The day De Gaulle made his bid for personal dictatorship, the unions and other left-wing organizations throughout France alerted their members and asked them to keep themselves mobilized and ready for action, or for a general strike if the situation called for it.

Less than 24 hours after De Gaulle's appeal, the government had dissolved all fascist organizations in France, and the House voted a state of national emergency.

The second lesson of the generals' plot was that however tired and ailing and worn the Republic had seemed, it could still react soundly and vigorously in an emergency. It would not be easily overthrown.

De Gaule has lost his first Paris battle, but he has not lost his war. All the cards are not on the table. Between Algiers, where the insurrection is spreading and consolidating itself, and Paris, where some are suggesting that after his extra-parliamentary bid De Gaulle try a more democratic method, he has many ways to prolong his action.

Between Algiers, where the generals are now trying to defeat, not the Algerian underground but the French Republic; and Paris where safeguarding of the the Republic has taken a dramatic first place, the last word has not been said.

CONSIDER THE FATE OF THE DINOSAUR

Britons blame crisis on obsolete U. S. leadership

By Cedric Belfrage

LONDON

THE STARTLING developments in Algeria, Lebanon and Latin America have brought to British Tories a new awareness of the worldwide crisis of colonialism, and of the increasingly hopeless dilemmas into which U.S. leadership has led the West.

For once a House of Lords debate got heavy press play when government leader Lord Salisbury pointed toward Washington and, though "it might be impertinent of me," asked in more bewilderment than anger what its policy was, "especially in the Middle East." But the Tories had nothing to suggest because no alternative looked viable within the framework of the West's "policy of strength," which had manifestly fallen apart.

As Lord (Bertrand) Russell said in the debate, it was time to consider the heavily-armored dinosaur which died out because it "lived in swamps and could not be bothered to move" while rats and mice survived. Announcement of Moscow's new super-sputnik made the "strength" concept more dubious than ever anyway.

SHARP REACTION: The British press reflected general infuriation at Washington for continuing to ascribe all troubles to Communist plots. From Right to Left Eisenhower's rushing of Marines toward the Caribbean Republics, after the attacks on Nixon, was seen as deplorable.

The pro-U.S. **Manchester Guardian,** imploring Washington to ask "more searching questions about the sources of the troubles," recalled its intervention in Guatemala and its "always seeming to befriend the strong man and the dictatorial regime." The **Times** stressed Latin America's justifiable economic grievances.

Middle-road Laborite Richard Crossman pointed out that, since seven-eighths of U.S. "foreign aid" is in military subsidies, Washington is actually spending over 90 times as much on arms as on economic aid. **Daily Mirror** columnist Cassandra, seeing Eisenhower's "hero's welcome" for Nixon as the "final grotesque touch to his own folly," wondered how the State Dept. could be unaware of Latin American "contempt and disgust" for the U.S.

The jingo **Daily Telegraph** offered what sympathy it could as from one titan of the dying imperialist age to another: "Something has gone wrong with the 'Good Neighbor' policy. The error is probably psychological rather than material. Nowhere is it better understood than in this country how a long effort to win respect and gratitude may be rewarded with the kind of behavior that invites the big stick."

ALARM AT LEBANON: Portents of U.S. armed intervention to rescue its stooge government in Lebanon caused general alarm. The **Manchester Guardian** reported from Beirut on Dulles' "wild misunderstanding" of the situation there: the trouble, said the paper editorially, "has been brewing" among Christians and Arabs alike ever since pro-Western President Chamoun announced he would stand for a second term in defiance of the constitution.

Arab neighbors' material aid to the Lebanese opposition was comparatively small, and would not be significant if Chamoun had majority support. Since even the Lebanese army—mainly Christians—was sitting on its hands, U.S. intervention might be "embarrassing to the West and fatal to the Lebanese government."

President Nasser's success in Moscow completed the West's dilemma in the Arab world, which might now be wholly antagonized if Washington did not mend a fence or two with Arab nationalism. But suspicions that Washington (which "got them into the mess" —**Manchester Guardian**) was now belatedly ogling Nasser behind the scenes had made even the pro-Western Lebanese bitter.

HOPELESS CAUSE: The French military putsch in Algeria was bringing chickens home to roost in all directions. Right-wing papers here took a dim view of the putsch, suggesting that no matter how it came out it had only made the dilemma worse. If democracy were overwhelmed in France, the war might be carried into a new stage of fury but that must bring in other Arab countries and risk world war.

If the putsch failed in France itself, the army in Algeria would be cut off from supplies. If the putsch were suppressed, the **Daily Telegraph** saw "the politicians . . . powerless to go on fighting the Moslem rebellion. A negotiated settlement from such obvious weakness would be disaster for France and the free world." In any case, as the **Manchester Guardian** reflected, France's army was predominantly " 'Republican' or Communists."

The putsch, all seemed to agree, had only served to spell out the hopelessness of the colonialist cause in Algeria. As for fascism winning the day in metropolitan France, British right-wingers doubted the aging, mystical De Gaulle's capacity —even assuming his willingness—to do the tough, dirty and perhaps impossible job which the French colonialists' program requires. Left Laborites thought the effect of the putsch might be to strengthen rather than weaken French democracy, if it could force an end to the anomaly of excluding France's largest party from the government.

Peking's warning to Washington of the possible "disastrous consequences" of aiding rebels in Indonesia added to concern here about the spreading danger to world peace, unless the principles of Bandung could be universally accepted and enforced. As a Left Laborite said: "We who oppose all forms of colonialism might be heartened by some of these events, if it were not for the H-bombs hanging over our heads."

"I BRING YOU GREETINGS FROM THE NEGRO CHILDREN OF LITTLE ROCK" *With these words and a handshake, Mrs. Daisy Bates, Arkansas NAACP leader greeted President Eisenhower at the Washington, D.C. Negro leadership conference. She is shown here in Little Rock court with Robert L. Carter, NAACP counsel.*

Crisis conference

(Continued from Page 1)

Negro protest.

NOT WINNING: Four years of this bitter experience had somewhat soured the high hopes that had attended the Supreme Court ruling. A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, summed up the viewpoint of the delegates: "The Negro today is not only **not** winning his civil rights, but the South is pressing, if not winning, the war against the Negro's fight for freedom."

Given this background, the "summit meeting" of Negro leaders became a crisis conference. The attendance of many professional, business and educational leaders, not normally seen at NAACP and other civil rights meetings, underscored this fact.

Some 15 college presidents, a dozen bishops, 20 heads of insurance companies and banks, and 30 presidents or directors of national Negro organizations were among the participants. The sponsors claimed that no such meeting had been held since W.E.B. DuBois in 1905 launched the Niagara movement, forerunner of the NAACP.

BITTEREST COMPLAINT: It was made plain that the impasse in the South rose not alone from Dixiecrat obstinacy. The most bitter complaint was that the Negro has been abandoned by the Government, deserted by his ertswhile friends in liberal and labor circles, and left alone to face the vengeful state power of the resurgent South.

"Many of us," said Urban League director Lester Granger, "have overestimated the automatic power of government action or judicial decision. We have underestimated the virulence of the old Ku Klux Klan spirit that now reappears in the White Citizens Council."

Randolph pointed out that the Northern press, including the biggest newspapers and magazines, have been affected by the Southern propaganda barrage. Liberalism, he said, is in collapse; its voice is "tainted and afraid." He warned that "even the Supreme Court is not unaffected by the election returns and public opinion. It has reversed its opinion before. It may reverse its opinion on segregation."

UNITY SOUGHT: The conference did not attempt to set up a new organization. Rather it called for increased support for the NAACP and improved functioning in the civil rights and social welfare fields by all Negro organizations. It hoped to launch a "united leadership willing to accept common goals that we all can work for."

Whites were excluded from the working sessions of the conference—not because American Negro leadership prefers a policy of exclusiveness. But they felt the need for heart-to-heart-talks among themselves. The problems must be tackled now, they said, by "those of us who are most directly concerned and those of us who must live with the answers." Clearly they felt that only by greatly strengthening the inner unity of the Negro community could they achieve a real breakthrough into the American mainstream.

Because of this, the tenor of much of the discussion was more introspective than in most civil rights gatherings. Dr. J. E. Jackson, president of the 4,000,000-member Natl. Baptist Convention, called upon the delegates to be "self-critical without being self-effacing."

PROGRAM FOR ACTION: The delegates took this advice into a series of ten workshops dealing with civil rights, moral and cultural standards, housing, youth, business and industry, agriculture and rural life, employment and labor, education, health and welfare, and government, voting and citizenship.

They came out with a statement of policy and proposals for action which, though they offered nothing startlingly new, served as a working basis for unifying the strategy of the Negro freedom movement.

Though there were many Democratic and Republican officeholders and spokesmen present, any show of narrow partisanship was effectively overshadowed by the determination to keep up the pressure on all politicians, regardless of party. "They will not move," said Randolph, "unless you move them." Applause greeted his statement that "in the main there is no essential difference between the Democratic and Republican party."

Soon after Randolph made this observation—which is, in a sense, the beginning of real political wisdom not only for Negroes, but for the majority of Americans—the President seemed to confirm his judgment. It is difficult to say what the full consequences of his counsel of patience will be. But there is no question that the delegates were deeply disappointed and angry at what they considered the President's insensitivity to their plight.

CAUSE MUST WIN: Roy Wilkins summed up their feelings. He could understand, he said, that "from where the President sits, he would like to have things go smoothly and not have Negroes or labor or any other group kicking up a fuss for what they want. That's the way it is from where he sits. But we don't sit there. Negroes have been patient and moderate for 90 years, and what have they got? Another kick in the face. I don't know of any white people who would wait 90 years for what is rightfully and legally theirs."

The anger which the delegates felt spilled over in a public session when Clarence Mitchell, NAACP legislative representative, interrupted Secy. of Labor Mitchell from the floor with the words: "That is not the truth." The Labor secy. had said that the 1957 Civil Rights Act would not have been so ineffectual if many persons who "make speeches for civil rights" had not deserted the fight for a stronger bill in the Senate. The NAACP official regarded the remark as an attack on his organization and said so. Some delegates deplored the "lack of courtesy" to an invited speaker, but to many Clarence Mitchell's interruption typified the angry spirit of the nation's Negro people.

As the delegates went home they knew that they had not "solved" the problems of second-class citizenship. But they seemed to remember the concluding words of Randolph's speech: "We are now being nailed to the cross. But if we have the will, if we have the determination, if we have the dedication, our cause can, will and must be won."

A MALE JOAN OF ARC

De Gaulle sees himself as 'soul' of France

CHARLES ANDRE JOSEPH Marie De Gaulle sees himself as a male Joan of Arc but throughout his career he has listened to few voices other than his own. He speaks of himself as the "soul" of France.

He seems consciously to have built up his legend as an aloof, austere symbol for the nation. **Look** magazine once said of him: "He has no intimates. Those with whom he must deal he treats as royalty treats the commoner." His political pronouncements, like the one he delivered at his press conference last week, tend to be fiery but ambiguous. This, too, seems calculated. In June, 1931, De Gaulle published what he called his "confession of faith" in a French military journal. He wrote:

"Above all, prestige requires mystery, for men do not revere what they understand too well. Every cult has its Tabernacle and no one is a hero to his valet. Therefore, in programs and manners and in the play of the mind there must remain an element that the people do not quite grasp, an element that intrigues and stirs them and causes them to catch their breath . . . What legitimate prince was ever so obeyed as the dictator who rose from nothing unless it was his own audacity?

"Dominance over men's minds requires that they be studied . . . While studying men one must follow the system of not opening up too much, of keeping to one's self some secret or some surprise which may play its part at any moment. The latent faith of the masses does the rest."

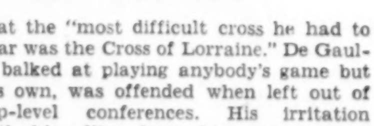
TIN SOLDIERS: De Gaulle was born at Lille in 1890, the son of a philosophy teacher at a Jesuit college. Legend has it that he played constantly with tin soldiers. He grew up in Paris and entered St. Cyr, the French military academy, at the age of 20. He was then over six feet tall and quickly earned the nickname of "L'Asperge Allongee"—The Long Asparagus.

His hero was Col. Henri Petain and when he left St. Cyr in 1912 he went to serve under Petain who as Marshal was to head the Nazis' puppet regime at Vichy. During World War I De Gaulle was wounded three times, was captured and attempted to escape five times. He failed each time but said it was because his height (6 ft., 4 in.) made him too easy to spot.

After World War I he taught at St. Cyr and made his first nationwide splash with a book advocating a mechanized army. The French ignored the book but the Germans ordered 200 copies and the Nazi generals openly acknowledged their indebtedness to him.

A COLD WARRIOR: His political views were unimportant to anybody in those days but he went along with the rightist and monarchist ideas of the French brass. He married, had a family of a boy and two girls and continued to live obscurely. When France was invaded in World War II he commanded an armored division. After Petain formed his government of capitulation, De Gaulle and his family fled to London aboard a bomber. He rallied the resistance then and felt himself for the first time the embodiment of the French soul under his standard, the Cross of Lorraine.

His allies found it troublesome dealing with a self-persuaded Joan of Arc and Winston Churchill once acidly remarked that the "most difficult cross he had to bear was the Cross of Lorraine." De Gaulle balked at playing anybody's game but his own, was offended when left out of top-level conferences. His irritation with his allies drove him into a brief wartime burst of enthusiasm for the Soviet Union. At one time he advanced the policy that France's future lay in the closest possible alliance, military and political, with what he called "dear and powerful Russia."



Herblock in Washington Post

"By God, I'm going to win a victory over somebody."

After the war De Gaulle thought differently and quickly joined the cold war, warning of the menace of communists without and within the nation. When the Fourth Republic was formed De Gaulle plugged for a constitution that would center power in the Presidency. He retired from the premiership in 1946 embittered by this failure.

HIS PROGRAM: In 1951 when another crisis again brought his supporters into Paris streets with placards proclaiming, "De Gaulle to Power," the General made his program as plain as he has ever made it before or since:

He would outlaw the Communist Party and the trade unions. The latter he would replace with paternal "associations of labor and capital" such as were tried in Mussolini's Italy and are now the pattern in Franco Spain. There would be no collective bargaining, strikes or "union politics." The influence of the Catholic Church, he indicated, would be strengthened over schools and the family.

He has at times opposed the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and at other times, seemed to approve it. His chief complaint against Western military and diplomatic moves has been that France is accorded a back seat. He would restore France's "grandeur" by negotiating directly with Germany on all issues, would probably deal on friendly terms with Franco.

De Gaulle has not shown any sign of wavering since those days either in his program or the firm conviction that he will live to be France's savior. If he fails now in what he regards as his life's mission it will probably be his last chance. At 67 there are some who think that even now the Long Asparagus may be out of season.

Those careless Russians

FORT LAUDERDALE, Fla., May 13 (AP)—A Russian ruble note was found at Fort Lauderdale today by Paul E. Kuhn, a visitor from Green Hills, Ohio. There have been recent unconfirmed reports of Soviet submarines off the coast.

WHERE INTEGRATION IS SIN, POLITICIANS ARE SAINTS

Alabama: 14 candidates, 1 issue

NEGROES CLAIMING THEIR RIGHT TO VOTE IN DIXIE
After registering, the problem is: Whom to vote for?

BIRMINGHAM, ALA.

IT WAS A foregone conclusion that no matter who won the May 6 Democratic primary election in Alabama, democracy would be the loser.

For weeks prior to the election, 14 candidates for Governor criss-crossed the state, but no major issue distinguished one from another.

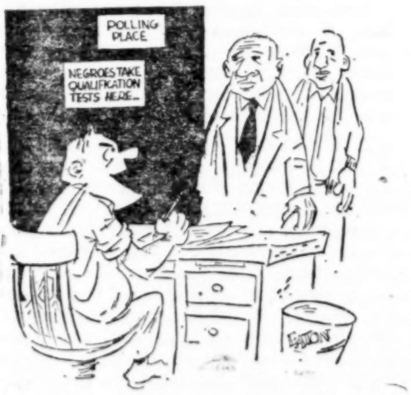
In fact, the literature and the oratory revealed but one question of state-wide concern—segregation. On that, there was unanimity. All the hopefuls were saints and integration was sin.

When the results were in, State Atty. Gen. John Patterson and Circuit Court Judge George Wallace had far outdistanced the field. But since neither had received a majority of the 700,000 votes cast, they prepared for a June 3 runoff primary. In Alabama the Democratic nomination amounts to victory, since Republican opposition is token or non-existent.

THE LOUDEST: Patterson and Wallace were the most vocal of the segregationists. The attorney general boasted that two years ago he had filed a suit which halted NAACP activities in the state and saddled the organization with a $100,000 fine because it refused to turn over to the state its membership lists and other information. An appeal in the case is now pending in the U.S. Supreme Court.

Patterson kept the spectre of Federal bayonets before his constituents' eyes and assured them that he would close Alabama's schools before a single Negro child attended class with a white child under Federal law.

Wallace was not to be outdone. He had promised to jail any Federal investigators, including Civil Rights Commission staff or FBI men, who came into his jurisdiction seeking evidence of illegal discrimination against Negroes. He offered a program of active harassment of Federal authority to "keep Alabama Southern."


POLLING PLACE
NEGROES TAKE QUALIFICATION TESTS HERE..
EATON

Eaton in Baltimore Afro-American
"How many bubbles in a bar of soap?"

THE NEGRO VOTE: Negroes make up one-third of the Alabama population, but are only 5½% of its registered voters—some 50,000 among 900,000. What to do with these 50,000 votes became an important question for Negro leaders. Certainly they could not be cast for men like Patterson and Wallace. But the Negro's name had been placed on the registration lists only through prolonged, patient, and sometimes painful effort.

Since none espoused their cause, Negroes believed they faced the unwelcome alternative of remaining voteless or casting their ballots for the candidate who had vilified them least. Nine days before the election Negro leaders from all parts of the state met in Birmingham to decide which of the 14 aspirants fitted that description.

BIG PROBLEM: The pickings were slim but Alabama's Negroes made their choice. Emory O. Jackson, editor of the Birmingham **World**, called for a "functioning unity" among Negroes in the election. Because the Negro vote had been minimized, he said, "by denials, by one-party, one-issue, one-theme politics, the battered group has to find unity for self-protection." Though the choice among the enemies of their equal citizenship seemed hardly worth making, Negroes were determined to make it together.

But that was only part of the problem. Once the decision was made, the leaders faced the necessity of transmitting it to 50,000 Negro voters but keeping it secret from whites. For nothing seems more certain in the primitive state of Alabama's race politics than that white voters in droves will desert the preferred candidate of Negroes.

Thus, in order not to nullify their influence, Negroes functioned in a kind of political underground. They never openly discussed the issues or the candidates.

UNIONS LITTLE HELP: The most likely ally of Negro voters in Alabama would ordinarily be the trade unions. But the AFL-CIO in Alabama is an extraordinary labor organization. Discrimination in industry and in the unions is commonplace. Many locals have been infiltrated or taken over by members of the White Citizens Council.

Labor's Committee on Political Education selected five of the 14 candidates as acceptable to the working men and women of Alabama; among them was Judge Wallace, one of the most determined champions of segregation.

In addition to candidates for governor and seven other state-wide offices, there were aspirants for 141 seats in the state legislature and two of the state's nine Congressional posts. Seven Congressmen were unopposed.

Also up for election were 170 candidates for 72 places on the powerful Democratic Party state executive committee. The issue among them was whether the committee should retain the "loyalty pledge" requiring the state's electors to cast their ballots for the Democratic presidential candidate in the 1960 elections. In 1948 the committee had permitted electors to cast the state's 11 electoral votes for Dixiecrats J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina and Fielding L. Wright of Mississippi. But party loyalists won majorities in 1952 and 1954 and required electors to vote for party candidates, state and national.

PLENTY OF ISSUES: Both Alabama's Senators, Hill and Sparkman, campaigned for retention of the loyalty pledge on the ground that electoral votes cast for Dixiecrats would simply serve to strengthen the Republicans, the party of "Benson and bayonets." Despite the Senators' appeal, first returns showed states' righters leading in 35 of 72 committee races; regulars led in 27 and independents in two others. The likelihood was a state executive committee primed to rule or bolt the Democratic Party in 1960.

Beneath the fuss and furor about white supremacy, Alabama voters have issues galore. The state and the people are poor, kept that way by Eastern control of large parts of the wealth in mines, mills and on the land.

A drive through the Black Belt reveals abandoned shacks of tenants, sharecroppers and small owners fleeing impoverishment by mechanization and government curtailment of cotton acreage. Wages are low, schools sub-standard for white as well as Negro; $40-a-month pensions for the aged are ridiculously inadequate, and the trade unions are handicapped by a state "right-to-work" law.

But race runs through the politics of Alabama like a social sore, infecting what might otherwise be a virile brand of native American radicalism. Only more Negro votes—many more—will take this issue out of the hands of the demagogues and turn the people's attention to the real problems which beset them. Therein lies the stake of the nation in the campaign of Negroes to vote in Alabama and throughout the South.

TIFFANY CONFIRMED

Rights Commission almost ready to think of starting

AFTER EIGHT MONTHS of obstruction by Southern Congressmen, the Civil Rights Commission was almost formally open for business on May 14. The Senate voted, 67-13, to confirm Gordon M. Tiffany as staff director. The vote followed two hours of opposition speeches in which Southerners scored the former New Hampshire Atty. Genl. on the ground that he was "soft on communism," unfamiliar with the civil rights field, and had said he could conceive of the need for using troops in integration disputes as a "very last resort."

President Eisenhower signed the Civil Rights Act of 1957 last Sept. 9. Since then, Southern officials have acted with renewed vigor to keep Negroes away from the registration and polling places.

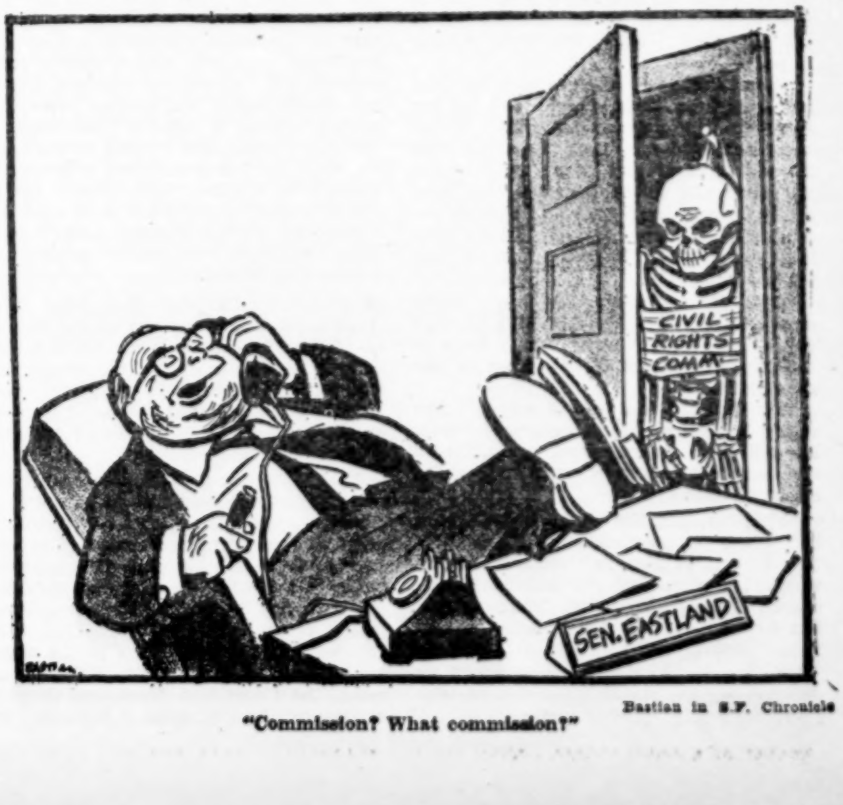
The result thus far, according to the Southern Regional Council of Atlanta, Ga., has been further to curb, rather than spur, Negro voting.

The six-member Commission was finally sworn in on Jan. 3, with Dr. John A. Hannah, president of Michigan State U., as chairman. The Tiffany nomination was stalled for almost four months in the Senate Judiciary Comm., headed by Sen. Eastland of Mississippi.

100 COMPLAINTS IN: Meanwhile, the House beat off Southern opposition and finally approved a $750,000 appropriation for the Commission for the fiscal year beginning July 1. But this, too, must hurdle the Senate before the civil rights watchdog body can look for the violations it was established to discover. The Commission has been using an emergency $200,000 appropriation from the White House.

The Commission meets once a month. Tiffany, since his nomination went to the Senate on Feb. 20, has functioned with a staff of five in working out a plan for future operations. The plan calls for a staff of 70 and a set-up of four divisions, chief of which will be a Division of Records and Analysis.

More than 100 complaints charging violations of franchise rights have been sent to the Commission's office. On Apr. 28 the Southern Conference Educational Fund urged the Commission to hold hearings in the South. With primary elections now being held and scheduled in all the Southern States, the civil rights group has its work cut out for it. And the Commission has less than 16 months left of its two-year life.



Bastian in S.F. Chronicle
"Commission? What commission?"

JUSTICE HUGO L. BLACK'S REVOLUTIONARY CREDO:

'The Constitution means just what it says'

By David Wesley

FOR SOME 160 unbroken years the lawyers on the U.S. Supreme Court, the appointive institution that wields veto power over the rule of executive and legislature alike, have been "interpreting" the Constitution according to their own lights. Whenever something presented itself to them which they saw as necessary they tended to fit constitutional language into the preconceived need, rather than vice versa.

Not quite 21 years ago, a mild-mannered, middle-aged Senator ascended to the High Court and almost immediately introduced a strange new idea. The idea was revolutionary in its implications, but like most great ideas it was a relatively simple one. In substance it stated: the language of the Constitution means just what it says. This ingenious deduction, as a governing concept in all cases and at all times, had simply never occurred to anyone before—or certainly not to any lawyer.

THIS IS THE historic contribution of Hugo La Fayette Black, and from it an amazing number of consequences flow. Since his approach is slowly but surely taking hold at the top level, at least, of American judicial guardianship, and considering that Black himself remains deprived of public acclaim, or even much recognition, a Churchillism appears to be in order: seldom has anyone done so much for so many people's freedom and received so little credit for it.

During the last full sitting of the Supreme Court, for example, when Mr. Justice Black, its dean, had for two decades relentlessly insisted that it was unproved that the Court was wise enough to be able to substitute "its own concepts of decency and fundamental justice for the language of the Bill of Rights," a Court majority handed down a whole raft of decisions any two or three of which would have made 1957 the most epochal civil liberties (or Bill of Rights) session in the history of the Court.

JUSTICE HUGO BLACK
"The Court's greatest shaper"

The Court, with an almost unprecedented lack of involuted reasoning, threw the Bill of Rights straight at the FBI (in three differenct cases), the Military, Congressional snoopers, the Justice Dept., and the State Dept.'s loyalty program. It also sat on any limitation of the Fifth Amendment, took a big swipe at giant business (du Pont), and struck down the following: a censorship statute, continued segregation, a political test for lawyers and certain arbitrary state limits on picketing and strikes.

Nothing remotely like it had ever been seen before.

OBJECTIVE STUDENTS of the Court do not or would not seriously question that Mr. Justice Black has been the primary influence in this achievement. He is credited with doing it not only because his basic thesis becomes increasingly difficult for reputable justices to evade, but because of his quiet, dogged persuasion, his great learning and the acuteness and vigor of his thinking.

It is possible that Hugo Black was able to cut through the tangle of "interpreted" law because he had never had the advantage of the sophisticated legal culture of the great university centers. He was born (in 1886) into Southern rural poverty and climbed up through Southern provincialism on nothing more, apparently, than a will to knowledge. It was great books, the wisdom of the ages, for which he has always had a seemingly instinctive passion, that carried him to the profound equalitarianism of such decisions as **Terry, Howard** and **Brown,** from primitive Southern politics to **Jencks** and **Watkins.**

THE FORTHRIGHT New Deal Senator hadn't been a year on the Court, as FDR's first appointee in 1937, before he had issued the first of his revolutionary pronouncements. It went this way: "I do not believe that the word 'person' in the Fourteenth Amendment includes corporations."

All that sentence did, or would have done had it not been spoken in courageous freshman dissent, was overthrow 50 years of Court "interpretation" that had done as much to build up corporate power in the U.S. as all the captains of industry put together. By turning the corporation into a person and then wrenching "due process" around to apply it to the making of law, rather than to its enforcement, the Court had frustrated decades of attempts by the states to limit or regulate the uncontrolled growth and use of private property.

But while the Court was bestowing the Fourteenth's "liberty" to private property, it wasn't until 1925 that it carried over the First Amendment's people's freedoms to the Fourteenth (which affects state action while the Bill of Rights, by an 1833 ruling, holds only for the Federal government). Black not only forcefully revived this doctrine but came up with another shattering pronouncement. It went this way: "One of the chief objects (of the Fourteenth) was to make the (whole) Bill of Rights applicable to the states."

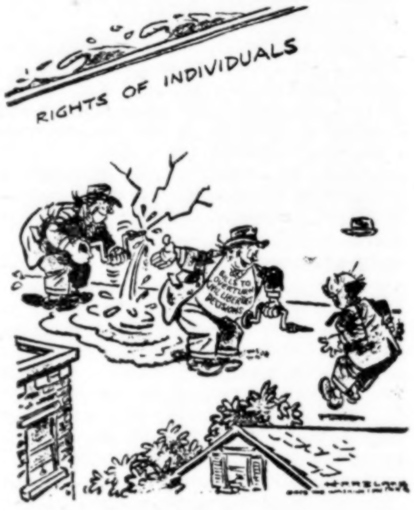
DESPITE THIS presumably unequivocal statement of the Amendment: "No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States . . . ," Mr. Justice Frankfurter, who is still combatting this Blackian heresy, has pointed out that, with one "eccentric" exception, no Court member up to "the beginning of the present membership (namely Black) indicated such a belief."

But it may well be that history will judge another consequence of the Blackian means-what-it-says discovery as the most epic one. This pronouncement ran as follows: "The First Amendment forbids compromise" (**Doud,** 1950).

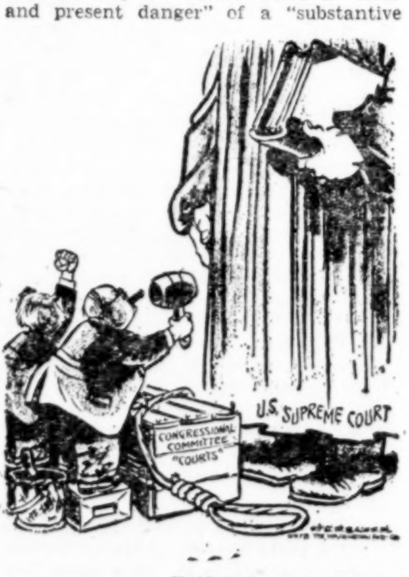
Though Black and Douglas did not stand fast with those great libertarian justices, Murphy and Rutledge, on the civil liberties front during World War II, **Doud** and other opinions strongly indicate that Black was now throwing down a sustained challenge against perhaps the most pernicious Court interpretation of all—"clear and present danger."

THIS HISTORIC Holmes breach in the First Amendment dike—that its protections may be waived when a "clear and present danger" of a "substantive evil" is shown—has, as might be expected, been ripped open wider and wider, until Chief Justice Vinson drove a truck through it in the **Dennis** decision.

Black has been peppering away at it in opinion after opinion, declaring at one point that individual liberty doesn't hurt, but fosters, security, and writing in the Oklahoma loyalty oath case that the First Amendment, which is "wholly unqualified . . . undiluted and unequivocal," means "that **courts** are wthout power to **appraise** and penalize utterances upon their notion that these utterances are **dangerous.**" (Emphasis added.)


RIGHTS OF INDIVIDUALS
BILLS TO OVERTURN CIVIL LIBERTY DECISIONS

Herblock in Washington Post
"We're gonna flush out the criminals."



Herblock in Washington Post
"We'll do all the judging around here."

Last year in the Yates case Douglas, long a clear-and-present-danger man, joined Black in a particularly explicit denial of it: speech on public issues is protected "whether or not such discussion incites to action, legal or illegal."

IT IS SURELY only this doctrine that will be capable in the end of sweeping away the Smith Act, the McCarran Act, the McCarran-Walter Act and all future attempts to subvert the individual's fundamental freedoms. In this instance not only judicial tradition but the particular eminence of Holmes and the powerful security bugaboo must be ignored. Yet the decisions of the past two years show that the Warren court, on which Black's influence has been the most telling of his career, is moving ever closer to this position.

In such way has Hugo L. Black tirelessly fought to bring the American people full circle back to their remarkable Constitution—a document whose basic guaranties any good society of the future must eventually recognize. And if Americans finally and permanently get back to it, Mr. Justice Black will have to be recognized with John Marshall as the High Court's greatest shaper, and as one of the greatest Americans.

David Wesley has long had an active interest in the Supreme Court and especially the democratic values enunciated there by Hugo Black. He has served in Europe, Latin America and UN headquarters for the Overseas News Agency. He has worked for Life *magazine and for the liberal* New York PM. *He is at present editor of the editorial page of the* York Gazette & Daily.

'RECTORY IS MY HOME'

Dr. Melish rejects offer of house; ruling is due

THE REV. JOHN HOWARD MELISH, rector emeritus of the Church of the Holy Trinity, Brooklyn, last week wrote to James P. DeWolfe, Bishop of Long Island, rejecting the offer of a house in Riverhead, L.I., if he would move out of the Brooklyn rectory. His letter follows in part:

"I have lived in this rectory for over half a century. It is equippel to meet my needs in my present infirmity. It has been home to me. Here my dear ones have died, and here my boy, Howard, was born and waged his victorious fight for truth and freedom. The hallowed associations and memories of my long ministry center here. To me and mine this place is 'Home.'

"I shall, of course, leave my home some day, and at 83 and nearing 84, that day cannot be far away. But I hope to end my life where for 54 years it has been lived.

"My honored son has already left the rooms he has occupied, because he feels he will help me maintain my right to stay on. This attitude toward me characterized him always.

"You, Sir, laid the blame primarily on him when you proceeded against us both. You owe it to him to vindicate him. It was not the son but the father who incurred [your] opposition. The way the son has borne this will redound to his honor and glory."

The Court has not yet announced its decision on Dr. Melish's petition for the right to remain in the rectory.

University wins award in Sweezy case

THE UNIVERSITY of New Hampshire has been presented with a national award by the American Assn. of University Professors for its "responsible educational statesmanship" in permitting Paul M. Sweezy to address the students in the spring of 1956. Gov. Lane Dwinell and State Atty. Gen. Louis Wyman have denounced the University for accepting it.

The award was recently established in honor of Alexander Meiklejohn, former president of Amherst College and champion of civil liberties. Wyman, who personally conducted a witch-hunt against Sweezy and others, said: "To me this citation is nothing more than a barefaced attempt to dignify contempt of our courts and our legislature."

But the Lewiston **Sun** editorially defended the University in upholding academic freedom and accepting the award. The **Sun** commented on Wyman's earlier "red probe": "What New Hampshire has been doing, very obviously, is to attempt to punish and smother the unconventional thought, on the excuse that the sovereignty of the State was endangered. These people never reflect that they have been chipping away—with small success, we are pleased to note—at a fundamental American Freedom."

The university has been a center of controversy ever since it invited Dr. Sweezy, co-editor of **Monthly Review,** to address a humanities class on Marxism in March, 1954. Sweezy, later "investigated," declined to answer questions about the lectures, or his activities with the Progressive Party. A contempt of court conviction against him was reversed by the Supreme Court.

SMITH ACT STILL HAS STING

Hellman tried for CP membership in Montana

Special to the Guardian

BUTTE, Mont.

HERE IN THIS historic mining town, the Justice Dept. is making its latest effort to save the Smith Act from the near death-blow it received from the Supreme Court last June. It is using the "membership" provision of the law against John C. Hellman, whose parents were Montana pioneer farmers.

Against him is a collection of witnesses who never before saw either him or the state of Montana. Charged with membership with "knowledge" of the Communist Party's alleged teaching and advocacy of violent overthrow of the government, and "intent" to achieve this aim, he is confronted with testimony of paid informers which is permitted on the ground that it goes to establish the party's illegal advocacy.

Some—like John Lautner, the Dept. of Justice's $25-a-day, $12 per diem, professional witness—are appearing as "experts." Others, like Bellamino Duran, the paid informer from the Denver Smith Act case, have been permitted to testify as material witnesses on the character of the CP (which was not indicted and is not on trial). More such witnesses will follow, including Charles Childs, a North Carolina informer from the Junius Scales membership trial, and Barbara Hartle from Seattle, who informed on her co-defendants in a Smith Act trial there.

JOHN C. HELLMAN
Where Big Bill Haywood fought

NO. 1 ISSUE: Hearsay, remote in time and place, is filling page after page of the transcript and providing headlines for the local press. It is a "conspiracy" trial with no conspirators, a legal embodiment of the McCarthyite concept of "guilt by association." Two years ago, the American Civil Liberties Union's annual report listed the Smith Act "membership" cases as the number one civil liberties cases in the nation.

The government prosecutors are seeking to evade Public Law 3500 (the watered-down version of the Supreme Court's Jencks decision) which is supposed to make available to the defense the relevant reports of FBI informers. In effect, the prosecution hands over irrelevant reports and claims that those dealing directly with the testimony do not now exist, as defined by the law. Duran's report to the FBI on a party school, about which he testified, was allegedly made orally and exists only in memorandum form; the notes taken at the time of the interview are said to be non-existent.

Federal Judge W. D. Murray, who is presiding, has ordered the government to show proof that the original records do not exist. The trial is now in recess for at least four days while the government prepares its showing as to what happened to the records.

SMALL PICKINGS: FBI agents have apparently gone over this vast state with a fine-tooth comb. To date, they have put on the witness stand two former Montana State students who attended a Communist meeting in Missoula, a young girl who went to a youth camp where discussions were held between volley-ball and swimming; a printer who printed a peace leaflet; and a one-time organizer of the Farmers Union who bought some books and a subscription to the **Daily Worker.**

These witnesses, obviously uneasy on the stand and unsure of their lines, are a contrast to the self-confident "old pros" like Lautner. None has testified to anything significant beyond Hellman's membership, which was conceded at the outset.

The Butte court-appointed attorneys, Robert A. Poore and Charles Zimmerman, are working without fee to meet the enormous burden of preparing the defense. They are without experience in civil liberties cases and lack background knowledge so important in countering the government "equation" of proof that Marxism-Leninism equals force and violence, which equals Communist Party, which equals John Hellman.

Unlike the full press tables, TV cameras and radio commentators who cover big city Smith Act cases, here there is a lone reporter for the two Butte dailies, controlled by Anaconda Copper. To meet his early afternoon deadline one day, he apparently sent in a story based on the anticipated answer of John Lautner to the $64 question on the aims and purposes of the CP. An unexpected recess spoiled the time-table; and the Butte **Post** featured a story that never happened.

With the first week ended, it is hard to forecast the outcome, although the advantages of the prosecution are obvious and overwhelming. Yet Butte is the home of Local 1 of the hardrock miners' union, the heart of the Rocky Mountain labor movement since the days of Big Bill Haywood. There is a tradition of struggle here equal to any in the nation. The jurors are mostly workers—miners, allied workers, and miners' wives, with a sprinkling of persons in middle class occupations. Perhaps the spirit of freedom in this "company town" will upset the carefully-laid plans of the Dept. of Justice.

7 other 'membership' cases still pending

The first indictments under the "membership" provision of the Smith Act were obtained by the government in 1948 against the top leadership of the Communist Party, in addition to indictments for conspiracy to teach and advocate violent overthrow of the government. They were convicted on the latter but the membership indictments have never been pressed. In addition to these and the Hellman case now being tried in Butte, there are seven other membership cases pending.

Two of these, against Claude Lightfoot of Illinois and Junius Scales of South Carolina, reached the Supreme Court this year and were sent back for retrials.

FRAMING
NEATLY
DONE

Scales was convicted again and his appeal from the second conviction will be argued next month before the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals.

In Chicago the government has moved to retry Claude Lightfoot and a decision is expected May 26 on Lightfoot's motion to dismiss the complaint.

John Noto of Buffalo was convicted in 1955 and has an appeal pending. Dr. Albert Blumberg was convicted in Philadelphia in 1955 but not sentenced. His motion for a new trial is under advisement. Cases against Max Weiss of Chicago and Joseph Russo of Boston are untried.

In the case of Emanuel Blum of Indiana, the judge called the case to trial immediately after the Supreme Court decision in the Lightfoot and Scales cases, and the government moved for dismissal of the case. Blum was freed.

GOLDEN RULE STILL TIED UP

Peace walkers head for Washington

IN A WORLD which last week seemed to grow more feverish by the hour, pacifists insisted on urging statesmen to "purge themselves of reliance on violence." In Honolulu the four-man crew of the Golden Rule said they would appeal Federal Judge Jon Wiig's ban on their sailing into the danger zone of the Pacific where the U.S. had already exploded three nuclear weapons in its current series of tests.

The crew's attorneys were scheduled to appear in the U.S. Court of Appeals in San Francisco on May 21. The four men —Albert Bigelow, William Huntington, George Willoughby and Orion Sherwood —are on probation after receiving a 60-day suspended jail sentence.

They had sought to sail their ship despite a court injunction and were stopped by the Coast Guard. The Golden Rule is now tied up in a Honolulu yacht harbor with a Coast Guard cutter patrolling the slip to keep the peace ship bottled up.

WALK FOR PEACE: The arrest of the four brought protest demonstrations in many parts of the country. In San Francisco 432 persons signed a "statement of complicity" saying that if the Golden Rule crew was guilty so were they all since they all fully supported the expedition. They handed the statement to U. S. Atty. Lloyd Burke, who said that the matter was not in his jurisdiction. Similar statements were signed in Philadelphia.

A new walk was being organized by the "Walk For Peace" Committee and other pacifist groups which led the walk on the UN headuqarters in April. This one would converge on Washington on the Memorial Day week-end. Peace walkers from the South were expected to gather at Wilmington, Del., to begin their 100-mile walk to the capital on Sat., May 24. Northerners were to gather in Winchester, Pa., on Mon., May 26. Dr. Linus Pauling is to address the walkers in Washington on Sunday, June 1.

For those whose jobs or school make it impossible to take the week off special buses are being chartered for the trip from New York to Greenbelt, Md., on Friday and Saturday afternoons, May 30 and 31. The demonstrators would walk into Washington from there. Arrangements are in the hands of the "Walk For Peace Committee," 5 Beekman St., N.Y., telephone BE 3-0462.

CHALLENGE BIG 3: The call for the walk challenges the leaders of the U. S., U. S. S. R., and Britain to abandon the testing, production and stockpiling of atomic weapons.

Another "Peace Walk" was scheduled by the American Friends Service Committee for May 17 in Seattle. After a meeting for "organization and meditation" at the Friends Meeting House, the group was to walk 17 blocks through downtown Seattle as a "public witness urging cessation of H-Bomb tests by all nations."

At Atomic Energy Commission Headquarters in Germantown, Md., ten peace demonstrators broke a week-long fast and sit-down when Commission Chairman Lewis E. Strauss granted them a hearing. For seven days and nights the group, occasionally swelled by other sympathizers, had camped in the AEC lobby, spending the night on couches or on cots provided by the AEC.

Foster Rhea Dulles, first cousin to John Foster, was one of 48 faculty members at Ohio State U. who signed a statement, published as an ad in the school paper, the **Lantern,** calling for an end to nuclear tests. The Americans For Democratic Action at their annual meeting in Washington last week also called for immediate test suspension.

STUDENTS STRIKE: In Japan, meanwhile, some 150,000 students in 57 universities went on a one-day strike to protest U. S. and British bomb testing.

From Helsinki, Finland, came word that the five-man group of pacifists who set out to preach non-violence to the Soviet government and people were returning to the U.S. They charged a run-around in their request for Soviet visas. Two of the group had received their visas before leaving the U.S. The others, they said, had been promised that visas would be issued in Finland. They waited in Finland for ten days before giving up. They plan to try again from the U.S.

Anne Braden's book offered at pre-publication discount

JULY 14, when the walls of the Bastille were breached, has been chosen by Monthly Review Press, 66 Barrow Street, New York 14, N.Y., as the publication date of Anne Braden's book, **The Wall Between.** The book uses the Braden case as the framework for an insight into the problem of race relations. Until publication date the book is being sold at the pre-publication price of $3 a copy—a saving of $2.

Sacher contempt case reversed

THE SUPREME COURT last week in a 6-2 decision reversed the contempt of Congress conviction of attorney Harry Sacher. Sacher had defended numerous Smith Act victims and has been an active labor lawyer for decades. In 1955 the Senate Internal Security subcommittee chaired by Sen. James O. Eastland (D-Miss.), investigating the Harvey Matusow case, called Sacher and asked him about his own past politics. He refused to answer, was tried for contempt, convicted and sentenced to six months in jail and $1,000 fine.

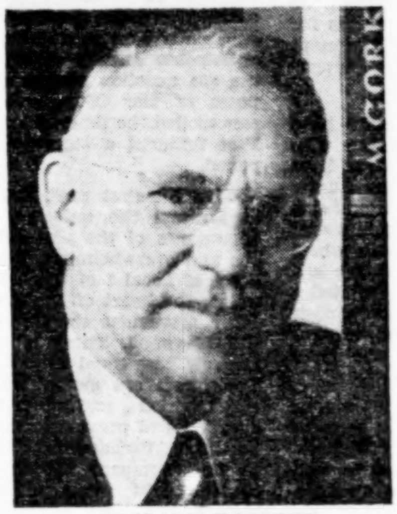
Last year the Supreme Court sent the case back to the Court of Appeals ordering reconsideration in light of the Watkins decision which requires that a committee make clear the pertinency of questions it asks. The Court of Appeals reaffirmed the conviction. Sacher took the case to the Supreme Court again which last week ruled that the quizzing of Sacher was "not clearly pertinent," thus reaffirming the Watkins ruling. Justices Clark and Whittaker dissented. Justice Burton did not participate, supposedly because a relative served on the prosecution staff.

GUARDIAN'S CHOICE FOR CALIFORNIA SCHOOLS HEAD

Holland Roberts' platform

On June 3 Californians vote in their prima·y elections. The GUARDIAN urges its California readers to vote for Holland Roberts, distinguished educator, who is running as an independent candidate for State Superintendent of Public Instruction. The best reasons for our support are given in Dr. Robert's own words below:

I ENTERED the race for the office of State Superintendent of Public Instruction because, like all thinking Americans, I am deeply concerned at the crisis in our schools. I hope that my candidacy will help arouse the people of California to the full magnitude of this national emergency, and the things that must be done to meet it.


HOLLAND ROBERTS
A profound democratic faith

Almost two decades of war and cold war have starved our school system. The staggering Federal tax burden imposed on the nation to supply some $40 billion a year for the instruments of war has created an undesirable resistance to increased taxation at the local level. Thus, the source of funds for education has slowed down to a trickle.

We cannot meet the problems of education in this space age by relying on methods of financing that hearken back to the Model T era. The Federal government, which takes the lion's share of the citizen's tax dollar, must assume its share of responsibility for the education of our children.

We cannot get the school buildings and the teachers that the state and nation need unless the Congress appropriates from $8 billion to $10 billion for school construction, teacher training and the employment of qualified teachers.

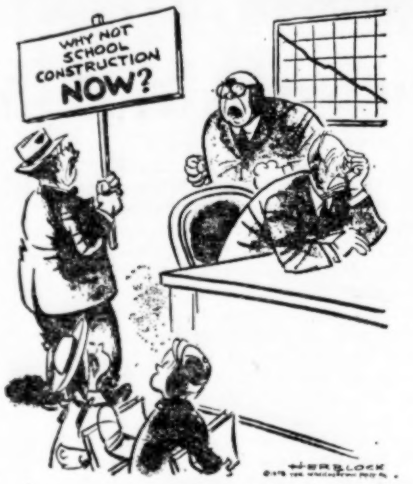
WE OWE EVERY American child an education up to the full limits of his abilities and desires. Nothing less will maintain our democracy and enable us to continue our progress as a great nation.

To fulfill this obligation, we need enough qualified teachers. Today, one out of every ten teachers in the state has only temporary credentials. We need 45,000 new qualified teachers for the fall of 1958. Adequate salaries, beginning at $5,000 per year and reaching $10,000 at the end of 10 years service, will help us get them. If we want professional men and women, we must supply them with a professional standard of living. If we want teachers to encourage our children to think, we must end the "loyalty" oaths and other restrictions that discourage teachers from thinking independently.

The second need is adequate school facilities. We need 300 new schools at once to relieve over-crowding and give every child a full day's schooling. Today 200,000 California children are on half-day sessions. Let us put union men to work on building the 4,000 classrooms our children lack, with the necessary libraries, science laboratories and gymnasiums. To enable teachers to teach and children to learn the size of classes should be reduced to 20.

THE PRESENT POLITICAL hysteria about the curriculum in the schools will not help improve it. The underlying thought behind such hysteria is that our school system must be geared to produce intellectual cogs for a military-scientific machine to serve a cold war that will never end.

Our education must be geared to a sounder, more human aim. Our children should be taught science and mathematics, not to meet some imagined cold war need, but because knowledge of science is essential for a functioning, intelligent citizen in this space age.


WHY NOT SCHOOL CONSTRUCTION NOW?
HERBLOCK
Herblock in Washington Post
"Quiet! We're thinking up a new reason!"

Our children should be taught the practice of democracy by the fullest integration of our schools, and the removal of all jimcrow barriers in the hiring of teachers.

By the same token our children should be taught about the contributions made by organized labor to the advancement of democracy and social welfare in our country.

The crisis in education is not just the crisis of money, of buildings or of personnel. It is a moral and social crisis. It is a crisis of social values that can find unlimited money for the most awesome instruments of death, but not the funds to guarantee every child a full education.

I enter this campaign, having devoted 40 years of my life to the field of education, because I believe the challenging problems listed above must be presented before the voters of California. I have a profound democratic faith that the common sense and good judgment of our people can solve those problems.

HARLEM ABOUT TO EXPLODE

Powell counters expulsion by revolt against Tammany

HARLEM SEEMS ABOUT to explode again.

Every so often the jimcrow pressures on the nation's largest Negro community build up more tensions than can be suppressed. Then a major social eruption breaks through the conventional bonds of social control.

This happened in 1935 and again in 1943 in what were known as the Harlem riots.

CALLS DE SAPIO "LIAR": In 1958 no one will forecast violence, but recent developments around Rep. Adam Clayton Powell indicate a major political upheaval in the making. On May 15 Democratic Tammany leaders voted to read Powell out of their party and to deny him the renomination which would guarantee him an eighth consecutive term in Congress.

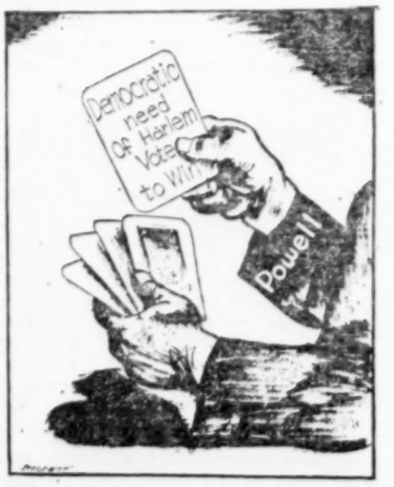
The next day Powell appeared in Federal court at Foley Sq., pleaded not guilty to the charge of evading $1,663 in income taxes, and used the occasion to launch his campaign for re-election. When questioned about Tammany boss Carmine G. De Sapio's claim that he had been dropped because his support for Eisenhower in 1956 wiped out his standing as a Democrat, Powell shot back: "De Sapio is a liar."

De Sapio, in turn, said: "I have no wish to engage in a personal controversy with Mr. Powell." He pointed out that Harlem Tammany leaders had cast the decisive votes and said he would prefer that "they answer him in their own way and at their own time."

HULAN JACK BOOED: Two days later, Tammany's main man in Harlem had his first chance to do some answering. Five thousand persons gathered for a street rally called by the N.Y. Branch of the NAACP to celebrate the fourth anniversary of the Supreme Court ruling outlawing school segregation. When Manhattan Borough Pres. Hulan Jack rose to speak he was greeted by a deafening din of boos and shouts of "Uncle Tom!" The audience advised him to "go back downtown" and the chairman's pleas for courtesy were useless.

Eventually Powell, himself, intervened and persuaded the crowd to listen to Jack. The Borough President spoke for two minutes and sat down again, visibly shaken.

Highlight of the meeting was Powell's 45-minute speech, a slashing attack on the national Republican and Democratic parties, Tammany Hall and Harlem district politicians. The nation as a whole, he said, was "a white man's country of dedicated hypocrisy and of organized and frequently legalized contempt of law."


Democratic need of Harlem Vote to Win
Powell
Stocket in Afro-American
Still holding a trump card

PROMISES FULL SLATE: He assailed President Eisenhower for his failure to confer with Negro leaders on civil rights, and blamed Vice President Nixon for not fulfilling a promise to have the Government Commission on Contract Compliance go South to investigate employment discrimination.

The sharpest bolts of Powell's oratory were reserved for the N. Y. Democratic Machine. De Sapio, he charged, was trying to transplant Mississippi plantation relations to Harlem politics.

The next day Powell got down to the business of putting together a personal political organization to wage war against Tammany. Two groups, totaling 1,600 workers, gathered in the basement of Abyssinian Baptist Church for instructions on gathering 750 valid signatures to put their minister in the primary. Powell threw more challenges at De Sapio and Jack and warned them to "avoid walking up and down the streets of Harlem." He promised to enter "a ticket in the Democratic primary wherever there is a community of Negroes and Puerto Ricans.

The following day the NAACP national office issued a statement deploring Powell's "extreme racialism" and dissociating itself from the Congressman's threats "against any person's right to go freely about the City of New York or about the nation." Jack struck back at Powell at a press conference: "I would say he is preaching hate, and all that spews out of his mouth can lead to very serious trouble if people follow him." He said he had received threatening letters and would hold Powell responsible for the safety of his family.

SEES TAMMANY'S END: There was no doubt that Tammany's action had unloosed a Powell-dominated steamroller in the Harlem community. Mayor Wagner hastened to get out of its way by announcing that he was on nobody's side because he follows a non-intervention policy in primary contests.

Thurgood Marshall, NAACP special counsel, made it plain he had no intention of accepting the Tammany designation if it were offered. And three other frequently mentioned potential candidates—City Councilman Earl Brown, Assemblyman Bessie Buchanan and State Sen. James L. Watson—must have been wondering if this wasn't the worst possible time to foster their political ambitions.

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PARATROOPERS OFF TO RESCUE DICK AND PAT
Like old times in the Marine Corps

Nixon fiasco

(Continued from Page 1)

papers echoed that question.

In the U.S. the N.Y. **Daily News** said editorially: ". . . we think it would have been still better if paratroops and marines had been flown to Caracas itself, under bomber and fighter cover, to take the Nixons out of Venezuela in a show of overwhelming force. An eagle never yet won respect by acting like a pigeon."

The San Francisco **News**, referring to the U.S. mission around the world as the "thankless policeman's job" said: "It is instinctive tribute to U.S. greatness that this nation inadvertently identified with violence, yesterday and perhaps for some time to come, on two continents."

DIPLOMATIC FIASCO: Though Washington turned out a hero's welcome for the Nixons, Sen. Wayne Morse (D-Ore.) called the trip a "disaster" and "a major foreign policy set-back." The Senate Foreign Relations Committee began closed-door hearings on U.S. foreign policy in Latin America and elsewhere and the State Dept. said it was conducting a full-scale review of its own.

The harshest words came from columnist Walter Lippmann who called the Nixon trip a "fiasco" and a "diplomatic Pearl Harbor." He demanded that "those who are responsible for the management of our relations with South America must answer the charge of gross incompetence . . We must know why the planners of the trip were so ignorant, so ignorant about so many countries, so ignorant of what it is suitable and what it is not suitable for the Vice President of the United States to do when he goes abroad. Before we can do anything to improve our position in Latin America, we must deal with those who have made such a mess of our position."

POVERTY AND PROFITS: For centuries Latin America has been a fertile source of raw material for Empire—first the Spanish and Portuguese, then the British and, since the First World War, the U.S. It has been picturesque, backward and profitable. Though it holds a good share of the world's mineral and agricultural wealth, it has been a continent of hunger, where the common people grow old in their thirties. But since World War II Latin America has changed. Skyscrapers and factories in the cities and roads across the mountains have altered the continent's face. Latin America is stirring in ways that recall the gigantic upheavals in Asia and Africa. There are now more cities of more than one million population in Latin America than in the U.S. The trend to the cities is indicative of a shift in the economy, of the beginnings of large-scale industry, of the changing pattern of classes and living standards. Since World War II the trend has been accelerated.

From 1946-55 the city population in the U.S. grew by 1.8% but in Venezuela it rose 6.2%, in Mexico 4.8%, in Brazil, Colombia and Agentina 3.8%; in Peru and Chile, 3.2%.

THEY KNEW THEIR PLACE: Washington has ignored the change. It told Latin Americans that their future lay as a hinterland for the U.S., that Northern prosperity would seep down to the pampas, that U.S. capital was its life blood and should therefore be cherished and replenished. Nationalization, they were told, was a sin, industrialization premature. Financial aid was doled out to nations which showed they knew their place in the U.S. scheme of things. Washington tried to make and unmake governments according to its grand design. And it was found that one could do business most easily with dictators. In the cold war Latin-American nations were assigned to their roles in "hemispheric defense" that put a crippling arms burden on their slender budgets.

MEXICO AND BRAZIL: While the U.S. was in its boom the old relationships could be maintained. But at the first signs of the depression much of Latin America, always on the border of misery, was plunged into crisis. Mexico felt the blow even before the U.S. did, in early 1957 when the U.S. reduced the imports on lead and zinc and prices fell. In countries dependent on one or two commodities and on the U.S. market—the old colonial pattern—the boom was lowered swiftly and dramatically.

Brazil, for example, derives 69.5% of its income from coffee. When prices and sales fell in the U.S., the Brazilian government tried desperately to fend off disaster by buying up coffee in an effort to keep prices up. In 1956 Brazil had a favorable trade balance of $211,000,000. In 1957 it had a trade deficit of $124,000,000. In June, 1957, the Brazilian cruzeiro was valued at 65 to the U.S. dollar. In March, 1958, it took 110 to equal the dollar. In two years copper prices have dropped from 50c to 21c a pound. To Chileans, who have cut back copper production by 10%, it means additional unemployment and near-starvation for thousands.

THEY TURN EAST: Twice in recent months the U.S. has lowered its oil imports and, to protect domestic industry, is considering tariffs on lead and zinc; this means disaster for Peru and Venezuela. Until recently the Latin Americans could complain but they knew that economically they were, by and large, a U.S. monopoly. Now even the most hard-bitten conservatives turn to the socialist world as a competitor to the U.S.—a paradoxical Socialist element of free enterprise in the tight monopoly. In Rio de Janeiro, the Soviet trade agency Torgbras has offered to take $300,000,000 worth of coffee. The sinister nature of this has been noted on the U.S. Senate floor, where it has been pointed out that the Russians drink little coffee.

"FUERA" MEANS OUT
A very cold shoulder

The Russians offer to exchange machinery for the coffee—including heavy oil-drilling equipment—a deal the U.S. has refused to make. Brazil now does $45,000,0000 worth of business with Czechoslovakia; it had no trade at all with the Czechs in 1953. Poland has concluded a deal exchanging 100,000 tons of railway equipment valued at $17,000,000 for 200,000 tons of Brazilian iron ore.

Chile is using West Germany as an intermediary to sell copper to the Soviet Union, with which it has as yet no trade or diplomatic relations. Colombia has sold $30,000,000 worth of coffee to the Soviet Union for 60,000 tons of wheat and help in building a new tractor plant. Argentina has traded with the Soviet Union for years and is now dickering for Polish coal. As yet the trade with the Socialist world is comparatively small, but it is growing rapidly and causing uneasiness in Washington.

VANISHED DICTATORS: Latin America is changing in other ways. The dictator, with whom one could do business, is vanishing. In the last three years resurgent Latins have rid Argentina of Peron; Honduras of Julio Lozano; Colombia of Gustavo Rojas Pinilla; Haiti of Paul Magloire; Peru of Manuel Odria. Anasatazio Somoza is gone from Nicaragua, though his sons continue to rule, but without the iron control of their father.

The only strong men left are Cuba's embattled Batista, Trujillo of the Dominican Republic and Alfredo Stroessner of Paraguay, all enjoying U.S. support. The memory of U.S. aid to the vanished dictators still rankles among the rebels now come to power in many places. There are memories of dictators decorated by the U.S. while the rebels were tortured, of dictators now in sanctuary on U.S. soil like Perez Jimenez, late of Venezuela. For much of Latin America's bloody past Washington can scarcely avoid the blame.

These elements—economic and political—explain why the Nixons were spat upon in South America. Latins, with long memories, have been spat upon for centuries.

Dulles' diplomacy

(Continued from Page 1)

would seem to be the only workable regime possible.

According to N.Y. **Times** correspondent C. L. Sulzberger, a distinguished French general said: "The only reality is the choice between De Gaulle and a Popular Front." As all the political parties seemed determined to commit suicide rather than organize a Popular Front including the CP, the possibility of Premier Pflimlin meekly retiring in favor of De Gaulle could not be discounted.

The U.S. has been caught in North Africa between (1) its desire to maintain its military bases and to protect American investments by making concessions to nationalist sentiment, and (2) its need to keep France as a bulwark of NATO. Last week it seemed to be failing in both objectives

LEBANON: In Lebanon, whose President Camille Chamoun had with almost indecent haste embraced the Eisenhower Doctrine for the Middle East, anti-American feeling erupted violently last week. The violence was precipitated by the assassination of Nassib Metni, editor of the opposition newspaper **Daily Telegraph** and by Chamoun's attempts to alter the Constitution so that a friendly parliament could reelect him for a second term.

All Lebanese newspapers suspended publication for three days in mourning over what it called the political murder of Metni. The radio station in Beirut played funeral marches at intervals on the day of burial. Lebanese crowds burned down the U.S. Information libraries in Tripoli and Beirut. A three-day general strike halted all business activities in the major Lebanese cities.

President Chamoun put the blame on President Nasser of the United Arab Republic, and charged that hundreds of Syrians were infiltrating into Lebanon to overthrow his regime.

THE BACKGROUND: Lebanon has always been the most tolerant of Arab states. The population is almost evenly divided between Christians and Moslems. Since 1943 there has been an understanding that at election time Christians would run against Christians and Moslems against Moslems. The President has always been a Maronite (Catholic) Christian, the Premier a Sunnite Moslem, the Foreign Affairs Minister usually a Greek Orthodox.

But trouble has been brewing ever since Chamoun threw in with the West and the U.S. began to use Lebanese ports as bases for its display of military strength (as during the crisis in Jordan). This made even the normally pro-Western Christians uneasy, and many of them—together with all the Moslems—felt the pull of Arab nationalism strongly after Egypt and Syria formed the United Arab Republic. An explosion was inevitable, since neither the U.S. nor Chamoun paid any attention to the growing neutralist sentiment, spurred by police brutality and pro-Nasser agitators.

In Lebanon American dollars have not even succeeded in buying the loyalty of the ruling clique. **Newsweek** reported (5/19) that, faced with last week's difficulties, the Chamoun government has demanded $28,000,000 a year aid for the next six years—in contrast with $2,500,000 for this year—and has threatened to accept Soviet offers if Washington does not come across. The dispatching of the U.S. Sixth Fleet, carrying 3,600 Marines to the shores of Lebanon, is bound to aggravate the situation.

INDONESIA: The Indonesian government accused the U.S. of trying to breathe life into the vanquished Sumatran rebels by allowing its Asian camp-followers to supply planes and arms to the rebels now settled in Celebes. Rebel planes manned by "foreigners" have been raiding oil ports and sinking tankers and cargo ships journeying to Java.

U.S. News reported that the rebels had obtained from Taiwan U.S.-made B-25 Mitchell planes (two-engined light bombbers) and World War II P-51 Mustang fighters. A UP report from Singapore (5/8)—quoted by **Hsinhua** (Chinese news agency)—said that "American agents are indeed involved" in some arms transactions and that many of those flying for the rebels "are foreign pilots, some American."

The N.Y. **Times'** military analyst Hanson Baldwin said "the rebels apparently are fairly well supplied with money." **Hsinhua** said that Washington and Taiwan, through an "American millionaire," had extended a $100,000,000 "loan" to the rebels, about half of which was for the purchase of bazookas, recoilless guns, 25,000 pieces of automatic and other weapons and five planes.

THE REACTION: Washington reacted to these events by denying all charges of interfering in the internal affairs of Asian-African countries, despite evidence to the contrary. All the countries involved have been considered vitally important to Washington's policy of "containment of communism" and as profitable sources of raw material for American industry.

Washington's policy in Asia and Africa has been marked for failure from the start because it has consistently underestimated the determination of Afro-Asians to be politically and economically free, to organize their society to suit themselves without outside interference.

The U.S. earned Afro-Asian friendship and good will on the basis of its revolutionary past, its World War II fight against fascism in cooperation with others, and its wartime promise to support colonial freedom. It has dissipated this friendship and good will by trying to force Afro-Asians into its own mould and to maintain economic privileges among them.

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The result is that often we publish material with which we personally don't agree. But we publish it because there is nobody else who has the integrity to publish it.

•

Our exposè of Walter Winchell, way back in 1951, began his undoing. (Since then, our editor, *Lyle Stuart,* wrote a book, *The Secret Life of Walter Winchell,* and it's available from us for $4.)

Our many articles on the conspiracy against cancer research unmasked the Damon Runyon Fund and the American Cancer Society for what they were. Charles Tobey, Jr., wrote his piece on the subject and we sold more than 120,000 reprints. (You may have one as a gift if you ask for it when you subscribe to *The Independent.*)

Our articles by priests who have left the Catholic Church stir up much excitement. Our occasional pieces on freethought send some blood pressures spurting upwards. (One of our current big-selling books is *The Dollar & The Vatican* by Avro Manhattan. You may have a copy for $3.75 postpaid.)

•

The Independent does not try to sell its readers any point of view except that censorship and suppression may sometimes seem safe but that they are really dangerous . . . and unhealthy in our democracy where all points of view should be allowed a hearing in the marketplace of public opinion.

•

Our features are many and popular. *Inside the Nation's Press* is probably the column most widely read by newspapermen and publishers. Jim Peck's "As Jimcrow Flies" is a regular feature. So too is David M. Kasson's "A Cancer Victim Speaks."

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L.A. Unitarian Church holds annual concert

THE 7TH ANNUAL Concert of the First Unitarian Church Choir will be presented on June 6 at 8:15 p.m., in the Auditorium of the First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles, 2936 W. 8th St., (½ block East of Vermont).

Under the direction of Arthur Atkins, Waldemar Hille organist, the Choir will present a varied program of unusual interest, including Songs of Many Lands, the rarely performed Bach Coffee Cantata, selected Anthems, the Chassidic song, M'laveh Malkoh, and excerpts from Maurice Rauch's Queen Esther Oratorio.

New York forum shows 200 Daumier prints

The 150th anniversary of Honore Daumier, the great French artist whose political cartoons were the scourge of the reactionaries of his day, will be commemorated with a three-day exhibit of some 200 of his lithographs.

The exhibit will be held at the Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Pl., N.Y.C., 12 noon to 5 p.m., Fri., Sat., and Sun., May 23, 24 and 25. At 8 p.m. Saturday night there will be a short lecture on "Daumier, The Man and The Artist," by George Lavan, followed by a showing of the documentary art film, "1848."

Admission is 50c for the exhibit and $1 for the exhibit plus the Saturday night program.

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of American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, Sun., June 29—all day. Camp Midvale, Wanaque, N.Y. Adm. $1. (Children Free). Bus transportation from Manhattan available. For information write: Room 405, 49 E. 21 St., N.Y.C. 10.

Sunday, May 25, 8:30 p.m.
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Monday, May 26
6:15—"Since the 20th Congress"
in "Soviet Union Today" series
BETTY GANNETT
8:15—"Bertold Brecht"
in "Political Playwrights" series
ANNETTE RUBINSTEIN

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Tuesday, May 27
6:15—"Struggle Against Slavery"
in "U.S. History-I" series
HERBERT APTHEKER
8:15—"The Labor Movement"
in "U.S. History-II" series
HERBERT APTHEKER

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Wednesday, May 28
6:15—"N.Y. City's Economy"
in "New York: An Analysis" series
VICTOR PERLO
8:15—"Socialism & Internationalism"
in "Path to Socialism" series
HYMAN LUMER

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Thursday, May 29
6:15—"Frederick Douglass"
in "Four Against Oppression" series
PHILIP S. FONER
8:15—"The Wave"
in "Four Great Social Films" series
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CLASSIFIED

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THE GALLERY

THE MOISEYEV DANCERS will appear on Ed Sullivan's TV program, Sunday, June 29, according to an arrangement between S. Hurok and Sullivan. It will constitute the "bulk of the program," Sullivan said . . . "Wide, Wide World" is in the midst of negotiations with U.S.S.R. cultural officials to arrange two hour-long TV broadcasts from the Soviet Union. Two exchange broadcasts from the U.S. for Soviet audiences are also being considered. . . . A long-term exchange program has been arranged between national student organizations in the U.S. and Poland. The U.S. students, chosen by the Natl. Student Assn., will study in Poland during the 1958-59 academic year and two Polish students, chosen by a Polish student organization, will study here.

ONE OF NEW YORK'S TOP PSYCHIATRISTS (name withheld) replied to a fund-raising letter from the Cancer Society: "Why doesn't the Cancer Society throw all its weight into stopping the nuclear tests—which are known to promote cancer? . . . Believe me—it is later than you think." . . . Cellist Pablo Casals has announced his willingness to play in the U.S. and "even in Russia" if the two nations reach an agreement on disarmament . . . The Progressive Party closed its doors in mid-1956. In 1957, nevertheless, two voters enrolled Progressive in Tucson, Ariz. In this year's registration, Tucson Progressives showed a 100% increase, to four . . . The N. Y. **Herald Tribune** society columnist reported that National Yeast prexy Frank J. Hale has become the most noticed millionaire since the late Joseph Ryder built a theater on his estate and sent his private railroad car north once a month to bring down stars to entertain his guests. Hale built the Royal Poinciana Playhouse in Palm Springs and during the past winter flew in an entire cast for each week's performance. Among the season's air-lifted stars were Helen Hayes, Judith Anderson, Cathleen Nesbit and Glynis Johns.

—De Groene, Amsterdam

CHESS MENACE: Irving Kandel, Maryland state chess champion who invoked the Fifth Amendment 27 times before the House Un-American Activities Committee, has finally been ousted from the Maryland Chess Federation through a series of complicated organizational maneuvers (see Spectator, May 12). After a long, heated session the Maryland Federation was dissolved and a new membership organization set up which then proceeded to expel Kandel. "I have been expelled from an organization to which I never belonged and to which I never made application," Kandel told the GUARDIAN . . . The Norwalk, Conn., Junior Chamber of Commerce has called off the third of a series of "anti-red" lectures due to lack of interest in the first two. Dr. Bella Dodd and Louis Budenz spoke to small audiences and Herbert Philbrick was canceled out. Charles Pennington 3d, the group's vice president, reported: "We've actually had calls from people who said the whole thing was 'silly'." .

UNEMPLOYMENT led a Long Beach, Calif., man to commit burglary. He deliberately made enough noise as he burglared to get caught. "I left my wife and two children because I can't get a job. I decided to go to prison and learn a trade." . . . Another man in Los Angeles committed a robbery and told police: "Shoot me. I got a wife and three kids back in Houston, Tex. I can't support them. I figured the best thing to do was to die." . . . Businessmen in El Paso, Tex., have found a solution to the recession. They are stamping all their mail with the slogan: "Business is Getting Better. Help It Along—Buy Now."

WE MAY SEND A MAN UP INTO SPACE before we send a dog, according to William H. Pickering of the Caltech jet propulsion lab. He explained: "With a man we don't have to worry about the Humane Society." . . . British Minister of State Alan Noble has decided to clarify the notion that anyone wants to arm West Germany with nuclear weapons. He states: "I would like to make it clear that there has never been any question of arming Western Germany with nuclear weapons except in the sense of establishing stockpiles of nuclear warheads in Western Germany under American control and of the West German forces being equipped with weapons to which these warheads could be fitted." . . . Dr. Harris of the Los Alamos scientific lab is urging Americans to build combined H-bomb shelters and wine cellars. . . . Britain's Civil Defense groups have come up with a new word, MEGACORPSE. Definition: one million dead bodies. . . . The Cheyenne, Wyo., Rotary Club plans to enliven its dance with a 16-foot replica of the Atlas missile supplied to it from the nearby Warren Air Force base. The dance, with a "missile theme," is being held in the Plain Hotel's Range Room. . . . Reprints of **Every Test Kills**, by Linus Pauling, are now available from **Liberation**, 110 Christopher St., New York 14, at 10c.

COMMENCEMENT: Dr. W.E.B. DuBois journeys to Nashville, Tenn. this week to speak at the 70th anniversary of his graduation from Fisk University.

—Tim Wohlforth

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the SPECTATOR

The urge to kill

LONDON

THERE IS NOT an overworked woman anywhere in the world who will not read with sympathy of the four-year Court sentence of British housewife, Mrs. Chubb, and of the events that preceded it.

Mrs. Edith Chubb is 46 years old, she lives at Broadstairs on the English coast, and she has a husband and five children.

Her husband is a working man whose wages never managed to cover completely the expense of feeding seven people (later to be increased to eight when Mrs. Chubb's mother came to stay), let alone meeting all the other bills that have to be paid in any household week by week.

So Mrs. Chubb, as well as cooking and washing and scrubbing and making beds for eight people and bathing and feeding and amusing and nursing five young children, also had to do a job of work outside. She took a post as a part-time nurse and was termed a "ministering angel" by the patients she attended. This indefatigable woman somehow found time to further help the family budget by "baby sitting" for more fortunate women whose husbands took them to an occasional cinema or theater or dance. Throughout it all, it was reported that Mrs. Chubb was always cheerful—a loving wife and a devoted mother.

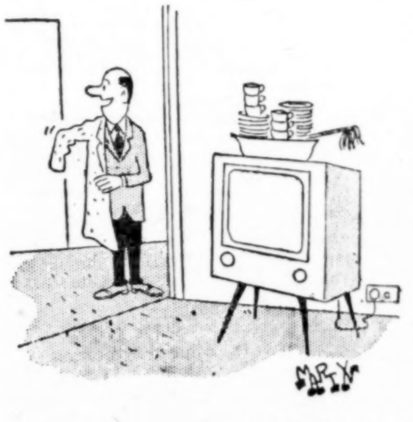
THEN ONE DAY seven years ago the sister of Mr. Chubb came on a visit. The visit was to last a fortnight. She stayed seven years.

The sister-in-law was unmarried, she was placid and tranquil and without visible care. For seven long years she allowed Mrs. Chubb to wait on her hand and foot. For this she paid the magnificent sum of 25 shillings [$3.50] a week. She never in those 2,555 days did a stroke of work in the house. And Mrs. Chubb with the burden of one more adult to look after never complained.

One day a few weeks ago this perfect housewife had finished tidying up in her kitchen—her family had been fed and gone their separate ways. As she dried the last dish her sister-in-law came into the kitchen and as was her wont placed her used cup and saucer on the table for Mrs. Chubb to wash.

As she turned to walk out of the room, something snapped in Mrs. Chubb. Putting her hands firmly round the two ends of the bright yellow scarf worn by her sister-in-law, she pulled with all the pent-up resentment of seven years. In a few minutes her sister-in-law lay on the kitchen floor choked and dead.

The crime was discovered quickly and Mrs. Chubb's trial has just ended.



London Daily Herald

"Betty seems to be out. I wonder what's on television?"

FROM HER HUSBAND who called her "a wife in a million" to the local parson who said "I never saw her sit down" to the friends who said "she never had time for more than five hours sleep" all who knew her testified to her goodness. And a sympathetic jury weighing the evidence found Mrs. Chubb guilty of manslaughter—not murder, and the judge gave her the nominal sentence of four years imprisonment.

For the first time in many, many years she will be able to take it easy—have only her cell to clean—have all her meals cooked for her and sleep for eight hours a night.

One does not praise Mrs. Chubb for what she did—to take a life is a grave and terrible act—but neither can one blame her.

Among the millions of overworked women in the world, with large families and no help, constantly tired, worried and nervous, there must be many who have at times had murder in their hearts. Mrs. Chubb was just unlucky—or was she?

—Diana Purcell

Readers thanked

CLEVELAND, OHIO

I hope I may extend, through the GUARDIAN's pages, thanks to those friends in time of need, the approximately 100 anonymous givers, who responded to our urgent request for financial help to win our appeal in the Cleveland Taft-Hartley Conspiracy Case.

We have been sending our thanks, by mail, to all who gave us their names and addresses.

I would like to ask that others who have been intending to send a contribution do so as quickly as possible, as we must yet raise several thousands to present our case effectively.

GUARDIAN readers will be pleased to know that the Committee to Defend Union Rights, in Cleveland, has a good new leaflet out; that official labor support is gathering across the country, and that we have begun to learn of interest in liberal and civil liberties groups from California, if not quite to Maine, at least as far as Vermont!

Hugh De Lacy, Chairman
Ad Hoc Committee

Efficiency note

RICHMOND, CALIF.

We have unemployment; Russia does not. What does that signify with reference to the efficiency of the two systems? We are facing 20th Century conditions with 19th Century methods. Yours for Restoration of the Republic.

J. N. McCullough